formation as to wash days: "We wash twice a week: on Monday and Wednesday, or on Wednesday and Saturday."

Many of the yards still had the threshing floor, reminiscent of Old Testament days. This could be located by a forlorn post which seemed to be serving no useful purpose. In the fall great quantities of drying wool hung from the clotheslines; and a little later the family piled in the yard the winter supply of wood from the forest.

The eaves of the house, deep as they were, sheltered such things as strings of drying peppers and ears of corn; milk utensils hung beneath them practically the year round; even the scythes and wooden hayforks found frequent lodging there. Storks nested in the trees and chimneys. With the coming of the warmer weather the sheep left their folds in the yards for the pastures, and the shepherd took with him his wattled shelter, which he moved on sleds across the grassy meadows.

In many yards a heavy, large-wheeled wagon stood near the primitive sheds for the animals and the ever-present strawstack. If the peasants were unusually superstitious, there would be dabs of blue paint on the wagon to keep the Evil Eye away. When the weather was nice there were usually children at play in the yard. Upon seeing a visitor they added their lusty shouts to the ominous barking of the dogs. They chased the dogs away from the gate by throwing sticks and stones at them, and at the same time warned the visitor to be on the alert. Far too often the dogs sneaked up behind to nip an ankle of the unsuspecting visitor.

The yards had few flowers, because chickens of a nondescript variety pecked freely throughout the premises. One or two scraggly trees, from which the children shook most of the fruit before it had time to ripen, stood in a corner wistfully seeking to give a touch of beauty to the scene. In the spring the blossoms of such trees made the village bright, but when the fruit and leaves were gone the bare, black skeletons of the trees fitted in only too well with the poverty and sternness of village life. Poor land, inefficiently tilled, contributed to this poverty. Although the peasants worked hard in their fields, they had little cash on hand after selling their crops and paying their debts. Home improvements were postponed from year to year, but the hard work kept on just the same.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

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An intelligent woman once summed up for me the peasant's attitude toward labor and money in this terse fashion:

"Most people work because they want money. Everyone looks for money."

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Although the peasant considered money of greater importance than formerly because he was becoming more and more a part of a money economy, he really handled very little in the course of a year. The annual income for a family of four or five was less than two hundred dollars, an amount that came into the family coffer in driblets and was paid out as slowly as possible. After the autumn market or the sale of a cow, the peasant was flush with money, but when he had bought the necessities which he could not produce for himself (kerosene, shoes and other articles of clothing, rice, salt, and some hardware) he was little better off financially. If a member of the family worked outside the home, his wages were a considerable help, especially when some of the many taxes were due.

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I asked nine young men, picked at random, about the money they earned. Their monthly income varied from the meager equivalent of $6 a month earned by a twenty-five-year-old servant and an eighteen-year-old shepherd to $66 earned by a twenty-year-old milkman. There was only one who kept more than half of his earnings for himself. He explained apologetically that the reason he did not turn these over to his father was that he had to pay board and rent in Sofia, where he worked.

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Very few Dragalevtsy people accumulated savings in the bank. They preferred, like people all over Bulgaria, to invest money in real estate. The city people did it because of the security of investment, whereas the peasants, especially in Dragalevtsy, were more interested in possessing land for its own sake.

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The great majority of the peasants were in debt, though many debtors were also creditors. Those specializing in field crops preferred long-term loans, usually for fifteen or twenty years, with land as security, while sheep owners usually sought short-term loans of three or four months. One village merchant, to whom many peasants came for advice, estimated that 70 per cent of the loans were taken from banks and 30 per cent from individuals. The government had done much in the past through periodic moratoria to reduce the amount of indebtedness.

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2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

Visitors suddenly confronted with the familistic way of life for the first time are often shocked at the low level of living which they observe: animals sharing the same dwelling; monotonous diet and low health standards; waste of time and energy with inefficient tools and methods. Before the peasant is condemned as unambitious, indolent, or stupid, there are a few things the outsider must bear in mind. In agricultural villages throughout the world the land base has been shrinking while the population has been expanding. This has meant decreased economic opportunity. Farms which were once adequate are now divided up strip by strip and handed over to many descendants, with the results that the term "eking out a living" has come to have real meaning for the peasant. The outsider often forgets that the rise in the level of living in the cities through the techniques of mass production and mass distribution has been relatively recent and phenomenally rapid. The villager is not really so far behind the times if one compares his life with that of many cities a few decades ago, or with the blighted areas of these same cities today. But one cannot deny that quite a few peasants seem to take pride in resisting social change; they are slow to experiment with new methods, and they assume that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. This resistance is based, to a great degree, upon the realization that accepting too much from outside will seriously affect the social organization of their community. Urban society is not nearly so close-knit and can allow for contradictions and inconsistencies on a much broader scale than can the village, where life is still intimate and face-to-face. Dragalevtsy people, for example, in 1937 were conscious of the far-reaching changes brought about by the abandonment of sheep raising in favor of dairying. Sometime ago, a number of the peasants actively resisted this economic trend. In the opinion of many, these conservatives were stupid; at the same time they were bright enough to figure out that changes would result in the economy to which they were accustomed. Because they were accustomed to it, they wanted to preserve it.

In a familistic society religion has usually become rigidly institutionalized and is closely allied with the family. All family events call for the blessing of the religious intermediary; there are usually household shrines; there is considerable emphasis upon observing the

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

648 "We would have starved," he said, "if America had not sent that ship of food to Varna on the Black Sea." Truly such an accomplishment by one ship would necessitate a cargo legendary in size, but nevertheless symbolized to Bai Milush and others of his generation the humanitarian America, the land of plenty, opportunity, and democracy. And then he told me of the work that Dominic Murphy, an American State Department representative in Bulgaria, had done in the wake of the last war to meet the relief needs of the people. And even Bai Milush knew that a street in Sofia bore Murphy's name transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet.

000 Bai Milush's wife, his helpmate through the years, had survived the war too. She proffered food and drink and seemed relieved when I suggested that instead of eating then I would like to take a little of the cheese away with me to use in rounding out my meager hotel breakfasts in Sofia. Later, when I was photographing her outside, I realized that she was unsteady on her feet because she had taken too much *rakiya* as a medicine for a racking cough. *Rakiya* remained the cure-all for every ailment as well as the solace to every sorrow.

178 362 511 Wherever I turned, whether to look at the new houses Bai Milush had erected, or to talk with the peasants about the past few years, I was impressed by the prosperity that the war had brought. Since I had last seen Dragalevtsy, almost one hundred new houses had made their appearance, constituting a decided boom for a village which had boasted only three hundred earlier. Some of these houses had been built as villas by people from Sofia because the city law prohibited any new construction there. The various bombardments had caused so much destruction in the city that nothing but repairs were allowed. Nevertheless, the peasants of Dragalevtsy themselves were replacing old homes with new ones simply because they could afford it now.

178 465 511 I had already learned that during the war the peasants had been the favored element of the Bulgarian population; they had been paid good prices as incentives to increased production; earlier in the war they could use that money to buy articles which they had always wanted but had not been able to afford. For example, the number of radios in the village rose from three or four in 1937 to more than a hundred in 1944.

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565 105 work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close co-operation, planning, and division of labor.[10]

511 105 Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.[11] Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.[12] That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences, or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.[13] Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 per cent of the cases,[14] usually on a cash crop basis.[15] Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.[16] There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the co-operative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood corn-hoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and co-operation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

[11] Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

[12] Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dohodnostuta Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

[13] Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

[14] *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937*, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

[15] Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "Until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland, and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

[16] Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

241 is practically no prospect of their ever being met. The 651 following figures are self-explanatory:

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Cases	Area of farmsteads	Arrears of taxes 1925—6 to 1932—3	Tax for 1933—4 (forx each category of farmsteads)	Fines	Total mount of taxes owing
144	up to 1 hectare	79,943 leva	12,016 leva	10,200 leva	102,150 leva
79	1 to 2 „	97,282 „	20,368 „	20,661 „	138,311 „
75	2 to 3 „	132,317 „	31,883 „	29,498 „	193,698 „
83	3 to 5 „	236,560 „	53,260 „	54,575 „	334,495 „
65	5 to 10 „	229,741 „	75,310 „	49,575 „	354,626 „
33	10 to 20 „	132,250 „	73,650 „	55,799 „	261,699 „
8	over 20 „	241,675 „	32,683 „	126,358 „	400,716 „

The amount of individual indebtedness has also been inquired into, and this has been computed as follows.

Farmsteads of	To Agricultural bank	To Co-operative bank	To the State (taxes mainly arrears)	To Municipality	To Private persons	Total
up to 2 hectares	7,360[1]	1,710	970	170	12,050	22,260
of 2 to 5 „	3,820	600	530	60	4,410	9,420
„ 5 to 10 „	2,930	580	360	50	2,370	6,290
„ 10 to 15 „	2,950	440	220	—	1,600	5,210
„ over 15 „	2,800	290	400	40	1,190	4,720

From the above data it will be evident that the smaller farmers are hopelessly insolvent since the actual value of arable land is between 5,000 to 8,000 leva per hectare.

241 With regard to the production of cereals Prof. Tso-
● 511 lakov calculates that the average deficit of farmsteads

[1] According to a statement made in the Sobranye on Feb. 26 1932, peasant indebtedness to the Agricultural Bank amounted to 4,096,043,000 leva at the end of 1931. Farmsteads of 10 hectares owed it 3360 per hectare, and those of 10 hectares and over, 2170 leva per hectare. The total value of the 4,469,987 hectares under cultivation was estimated in 1927 at 83,933,620,000 leva, rural buildings at 34,845 millions, the live stock at 19,927,205,000 leva and agricultural inventory at 4,760,149,000 leva. By 1932 values had fallen by 60%, so that the value of farm property was estimated at only 50,000 millions and the debts of the farmers then amounted at only 12,000 millions. The total revenue from agriculture, had dwindled from 23,347 millions in 1929 to under 13,000 millions in 1930, as the Minister of Agriculture affirmed in the Sobranye on March 6. 1932.

having an area of up to 2 hectares, is 2,510 kg., that of 2 to 5 hectares 1,570 kg., and that of 5 to 10 hectares 149 kg., and he estimates that at the present state of development of agriculture, farmsteads of less than 2 hectares in area can hardly absorb the labour of two persons, those of 2 to 5 hectares of 3 persons, those of 5 to 9 hectares of 4 persons, those of 10 to 30 hectares of 5 persons, and those of over 30 hectares, of 6 persons and over. Consequently there are 1,214,766 persons too many on the land, and it is indispensable to transform agricultural methods to absorb profitably their labour. This could be done by developing orchard and vegetable growing, dairy farming, cattle raising, as well as by the cultivation of industrial and oleaginous plants. Prof. Tsolakov's figures are in no way biassed; deputy Dr. Assen Tsanov, affirmed in the Sobranye on May 18 1933, that farmsteads having an area of 5 hectares and under, could not support their owners, that there was a shortage of land, and that this forced the rural population to migrate to the towns where likewise no work could be found for it. In another speech, on March 8 1932, he explained that farmers owning 2 to 6 hectares could barely eke out a living and that they were utterly unable to pay their debts. Farmers and the Agrarian party have been most vociferous in stressing the necessity of bringing down the level of prices of industrial articles to that of the agricultural, for with the fall in price of the latter, the rural population had been precluded from buying even the most indispensable articles for lack of means. A most informative article in the guise of an open letter addressed by a farmer in south-west Bulgaria to the editor of the *Vetser* was published by the latter newspaper on Oct. I, 1933. The farmer after complaining that peasants had to exchange 2 kg. of grain for a box of matches, 4 kg. of grain for a kg. of salt, 40 kg. of grain for a pair of primitive boots, and that after satisfying

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their most essential needs there remained nothing over for the payment of taxes and interest on debts, he proceeded to give a detailed list of the expenditure and revenue of his farm, which had an area of 10 hectares and which he had bought for 200,000 leva in 1927. He had further acquired 2 oxen for 10,000 leva, 1 cow for 6,000 leva, 20 sheep for 10,000 leva, implements for 50,000 leva and had erected a cottage for 5000 leva, bringing up the total amount invested on the farm to 241,000 leva.

Revenue: 4 hectares sown to wheat=600 kg wheat at 1.50 leva=9000 leva
½ „ „ „ barley=500 „ barley at 1 „ = 600 „
[1] 20 sheep, 600 litres milk at 3 „ =1800 „
1 cow 600 „ „ at 2 „ =1200 „
1/10 hectare planted with potatoes=300 kg at 1 „ = 300 „
1/10 „ „ „ vegetables = 300 „
3/10 „ sown „ sunflower & beet =1800 „
[1] „ „ hay =1500 „
(4 hectares lying fallow)
Net revenue 16,800 „

Expenditure. Food for family of 5, 1825 kg of grain at 1.50 leva=2738 leva
Corn seed for 4 hectares 1000 kg. „ „ „ =1500 „
Threshing 6000 kg wheat = 900 „
„ 6000 „ barley = 60 „
Milling wheat for food = 436 „
Clothing & boots = 800 „
Light = 400 „
Salt, sugar rice & wine = 500 „
Soap, brushes etc. = 200 „
Repairs to buildings & instruments =1200 „
Medical assistance = 200 „
School fees & extras = 500 „
Fodder for oxen and cow, 1080 kg. of grain at 1.50 leva =1620 „
„ „ 20 sheep 3240 kg. of hay at 1 leva =3240 „
Insurance against hail = 720 „
Total disbursements =17,514 „

[1] The wool from the sheep was not accounted for as it probably served for making homespun cloth for the farmer and his family. It would have amounted to 46 kg at 40 leva =1840 leva The quantity would hardly suffice a household of five.

AGRICULTURE

Thus even a farmstead of 10 hectares, according to the above figures showed a deficiency, though it was exploited by its owner and family without any hired labour. And it must be noted that in the above figures no allowance is made either for payment of taxes, debts depreciation or remuneration for labour, and that further, the yield per hectare of wheat is calculated at well over the mean figure attained, this being 1157 kg. per hectare and not 1500 kg. as on this particular farm. No wonder that the land tax fell in arrears, and only yielded a fraction of the 350 million of revenue, which was the annual forecast in the budget. Thus in 1926—7 the yield from it was 187,755,000 leva, in 1927—8, 150 millions, in 1928—9, 32 millions, in 1930—1, 83 millions, until it was finally suppressed in 1932.

The inability of the smaller farmers to provide for their own maintenance was concretely affirmed by Prof. Dolinski, in one of his works published in 1931, when he also asserted that 38·40% of the farmers were only slightly affected by the drop in the prices of cereals. The following figures were given in support, as well as a table showing the distribution of the arable land among farmsteads cultivating cereals. The average monthly consumption of cereals was stated to be 20 kg. per person in the urban districts, and 30 kg. in rural areas. The average farmstead had 5·351 members, and its annual requirements in cereals was 2015·165 kg. The production of cereals per hectare during the quinquennial period 1925—9, averaged 1009 kg. If 153 kg. for seed per hectare were deducted, this left 856 kd., a quantity which was raised from 2.354 hectares. Therefore farmsteads of $2^1/_2$ to 3 hectares, produced just enough grain for their owners, and had no surplus wherewith to pay taxes and renovate their implements.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

Categories and numbers of farmsteads		Area owned Hectares	Area devoted solely to cereals. Hectares	Percentage
Self-sufficing in cereals	41,297	1,125,443·7	818,798 9	3·64
Buying cereals	236,047	3,050,087·6	2,259,841·1	9·76
Having a surplus of cereals	439,235	28,845,318·9	20,064,752·3	86.70

What has so far been advanced is, it is to be hoped, enough to show that on one hand the lesser farmsteads are scarcely self-supporting and that on the other hand the larger farms, owing to the fall in the price of cereals, are unable to meet their liabilities. If 80% of the population is therefore in such a state of indigence and unable to pay any taxes, one can easily surmise in what poverty the whole nation must be struggling since its entire economic structure is based on agriculture, which has ever been its mainstay. This most regrettable state of affairs is largely due to those who drafted the Peace Treaties. Obviously, it was nothing short of a crime to deprive Bulgaria of such land as was indispensable for her population, and which had been in her possession, or was mainly inhabited by a Bulgarian population, and transfer it to her neighbours, all of whom had received vast increases in territory, and were in no need of further land. This wilful pauperisation of a people which was not only despoiled of its most fertile provinces, but obliged to house and feed some 400,000 destitute refugees, driven away from the territories so thoughtlessly transferred to the neighbouring States, is undoubtedly one of the causes which led the American people to wash its hands off European affairs in disgust, and this may be easily understood, for the American delegation at the Peace Conference in its desire to secure a just and enduring settlement, most sturdily upheld the cause of Bulgaria. Nor can the politicians responsible for these obtuse arrangements of the Peace Treaties plead in extenuation that they were actuated in their drafting by the biblical

The number of women teachers is larger than that of men teachers. There is one school to every 738 inhabitants and this number is altogether inadequate To remedy this shortage of buildings, half of the pupils attend school in the morning from 8 to 12 a. m. and the other half in the afternoon, from 2 to 6 p. m. It was reported in the Sobranye on April 1, 1924, that only 39% of the school-buildings were fit to serve as such, and that some 220,000 children had to study in stuffy classrooms in which there was not sufficient air. Such adverse conditions naturally accounted for the abnormal spread of tuberculosis among school children. Deputy M. Stanev speaking in the Sobranye on June 11, 1932 stated that according to the inquiry conducted by Dr. Rumenov, 60% of the children attending the first elementary class, were healthy and 40% tuberculous, but in the third elementary class, the percentage of the latter had increased to 62%, and in that of the first preparatory class to 73%. In the Stara-Zagora region, it was reported by the school authorities that 48% of all the children were tuberculous.

One of the probable reasons for the spread of tuberculosis were the teachers who were wretchedly underpaid and were not able to keep fit on their paltry stipends. Half of the public teachers received a salary of about 1700 leva monthly, but this was not all, for a large percentage of them were obliged to pay commissions to various political intercessors in order to obtain their posts, and had to refund to their protectors part of their slender emoluments. The minimum cost of living for a family of four members, each requiring 3000 calories a day was according to a scientific analysis made in Dr. Djidrov's *Stopanski Arhive*, 2563 leva per month for food only, light and heat necessitated an expenditure of 587, shoes and clothing 1320, rent 1500, and other needs 1130. or a total per month of 7100 leva. The emoluments offered

by the State to the teachers were therefore utterly inadequate, even for those not having family charges, especially in view of the fact that the teaching profession necessitated the most strenuous exertions. There is little doubt that if these deserving public servants were remunerated decently, and if they felt secure in their posts and not threatened with losing them every time there was a change of Government, as had been the case under the party system until recently in force, no only they would have been better adapted to carry on their difficult task, but they would have less reasons to become advocates of communism.

At the summit of the educational system are eleven higher training establishments, The State University, the Free University of Political and Economic Sciences, the Institute of Higher Commercial Studies of Varna, the Fine Arts school, the Musical Academy, the Military School, the Co-operative School, the Agricultural Schools of Pleven and Tatar-Pazardjik, and the State Teachers schools at Shumen and Plovdiv.

The students attending the University during the year 1931-4 and the number of the teaching staff were distributed as follows according to the studies followed:

	Teachers	Students	Number of students who graduated during 1932-3
Medicine	95	674	43
Letters	50	2219	134
Sciences	60	658	88
Law	30	2081	192
Agriculture	45	473	89
Theology	14	234	16
Veterinary Science	21	333	27

The number of women students was 1908 and is included in the figures given above, while the number of women graduates in the year 1932-3 was 160 out of a total of 599. The budget of the University amounted to